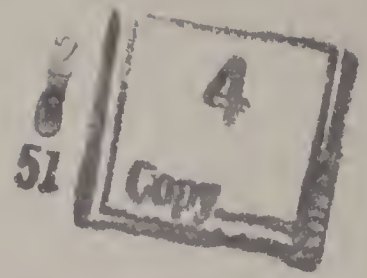


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POLITICAL PARTIES
in
WESTERN GERMANY

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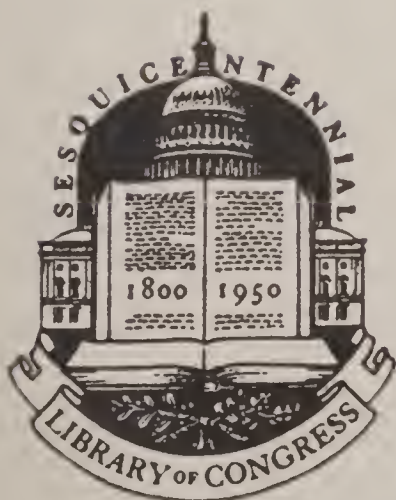
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POLITICAL PARTIES
in
WESTERN GERMANY

by

Ernest Wilhelm Meyer, Foreign Consultant to the Library of Congress



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Dr. Ernst Wilhelm Meyer, who has recently been appointed the first full professor of political science in Western Germany (University of Frankfurt), is Foreign Consultant to the Library of Congress in the field of Political Science and Economics. He has submitted this report in fulfillment of the duties connected with his appointment. In his first report on Political Science and Economics in Western Germany, issued by this Division in April 1950, Dr. Meyer presented an overall picture of activities in his field, of individuals and organizations at work.

In this second report investigation is centered on a particular aspect of political science, namely present-day political parties in Western Germany. The manuscript has undergone only minor editorial changes in order to present a survey of the German political scene as well as the analytical viewpoint of a German political scientist.

Harry J. Krould, Chief
European Affairs Division

January 1951

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Peculiarities of the German Situation	1
II. Electoral Laws	4
III. The Parties of the Expellees	7
IV. The Communist Party	10
V. The Christian Democratic Union	12
VI. The Social Democratic Party	20
VII. The Free Democratic Party	26
— VIII. The German Party	29
IX. Center Party - Bavarian Party	29
X. Extreme "Right Wing" Groups	31
XI. Pressure Groups	32
XII. Coalition Governments	34
XIII. Frequent Criticisms of the Parties	36
XIV. Berlin	40
XV. Concluding Remarks	40
Appendix	43

POLITICAL PARTIES
in
WESTERN GERMANY

I

Peculiarities of the German Situation

To win a picture of the political parties in Western Germany it is necessary, first, to be aware that Germany is no democracy yet, but at best is on the way towards it. Undisputably it belongs to the essence of democracy that sovereignty emanates from and rests with the people. During the recent past in Germany it has emanated from and rested with foreign occupying powers to a large extent. This is also of particular significance for the German political parties. The foreign occupying powers have reserved many important decisions including a veto power with respect to all legislation. Whether they exercise this right or not it cannot but impair the authority not only of the German government itself but also of the political parties upon the functioning of which, including that of the "loyal opposition," government is based. In all probability there would be a considerably different German political party life without the foreign occupation of Germany. How far-reaching the influence of the occupation powers in matters of party life proves to be can, for instance, be concluded from the fact that in the American zone of occupation, probably within the framework of the "re-education program," the parties for a long time were not permitted to issue daily newspapers, but merely periodicals and information sheets.

But above all, without foreign occupation Germany would not be partitioned. This partition was not created by a democratic will of the people and not by the volition but rather the lack of volition of the occupying powers. This partition, however, is of tremendous influence on German political party life. The existing government in

Western Germany is based upon a coalition of three parties having a narrow parliamentary majority while the Social Democratic Party forms the main opposition. It is possible, if not probable, that without the partition of Germany the Social Democratic Party, instead of the Christian Democratic Party, would have become the strongest party in parliament. It needs no explanation how consequential this might have been for German foreign and domestic, economic and cultural policy.

Yet even such factors as the lack of sovereignty and the partition of Germany are not sufficient to fully comprehend the precariousness and artificialness of present-day German political party structure and life. Originally, in order to prevent the reemergence of national socialist activities, parties were submitted to a specific license system. (See Chapter VII, page 60 in Deutschland-Jahrbuch 1949, editors Dr. Klaus Mehnert and Dr. Heinrich Schulte, West-Verlag, Essen.) Now it can be questioned whether political parties in Germany have not emerged too early or at least should not have been organized merely on a local basis instead of a Laender (state) or even Bundes (federal, national) basis, or should not in the interest of their own prestige have been submitted to a lengthier period of maturation. Anyhow, the moment they were formed it could but hurt their prestige with the people at large that they needed at that time a license from the occupation authorities. Besides, under the circumstances not even the licensed parties could feel themselves entirely free in their activities. For though licensed, the parties had the Damocles sword of intervention of the occupying powers hanging over them, just as the veto power of the American President or the judicial review of the American Supreme Court wields influence not only when exercised but also as a result of such possibility.

Neither are the parties in a position to provide on their own part the social and political "climate" which according to all findings of political science is needed for the creation of a healthy, strong, independent party life. On the contrary, in Germany the political climate is most unfavorable, more unfavorable than perhaps in any other part of the west. This can be imagined by those who are aware of the fact that every fifth or sixth German belongs to the so-called expellees. It is hard to express the situation to someone in the United States who has not lived

through the experiences of a partitioned country with large sections bombed out, under occupation, and with one fifth of the population expelled from former homes. He, thereupon, would have to try to realize how such parts of the American population would think politically, how far they could think in terms of the Democratic or the Republican Party. Moreover, he would have to take into consideration that in the United States, in spite of cutting off large parts of its area, still other wide and almost unpopulated sections would be available for resettlement of those twenty-five to thirty million American expellees, whereas the German expellees had to find refuge in most densely populated and very small territories.

In other words, the development of the German political parties is in no way dependent only on themselves, but also on many factors more or less beyond party influences, and every examination of the German political parties would lead to very wrong conclusions if such basic facts were not stressed right from the beginning. The mere reference to them leads to an understanding of the problematic party situation in present-day Germany. Of course, always and everywhere, domestic policy is dependent also upon foreign political conditions, but this is particularly true regarding present-day Germany.

In addition, during the national socialist regime millions of the German manhood have died on the battlefields, tens of thousands in concentration camps and on scaffolds, and as many have their physical and mental strength impaired, their nerves forever ruined. Where are "the men of the 20th of July," the Karl Goerdelers or the Wilhelm Leuschners, the Dietrich Bonhoeffers and Ulrich von Hassels, and who can venture to say how political party life would have developed with them still alive? Their generation has virtually been decimated to an extent that German political party life of today is a fragment of what it had been in the Weimar and Bismarck eras.

The Bonn Basic Law deals directly with political parties only in the articles 21 and 40, according to which parties endangering the existence of the Republic can be outlawed and elections have to be universal, direct, free, equal, and secret.

II

Electoral Laws

In spite of the grave peculiarities of the German situation the development of the German parties is, of course, largely dependent also upon German domestic policy as such and, in particular, very basically upon the kind of electoral law in force, just as in America and Great Britain.

To be sure, a definite federal electoral law does not exist yet. The electoral law which constituted the basis for the first elections to the Federal Diet is only provisional and is to be replaced by a new electoral law to be worked out by the Federal Diet itself. On the other hand, it seems that large parts of the provisional law will become part of the definite law.

The provisional law is a mixture of the majority and the proportional representation system, though in the last analysis the latter one is predominant. (See: No. 150 of the Beiträge zur Statistik, edited by Das Bayerische Statistische Landesamt, quoted by E. P. Walk in Der Wähler, No. 7, 1950, p. 17, edited by the Deutsche Wähler-Gesellschaft (German Voters' League) in Frankfurt a/M., Beethovenstr. 63.) This is the reason why one calls it a "mixed or modified proportional representation system." The occupants of 60 per cent of the seats in the Federal Diet are chosen in single member districts by relative majority, i.e., by eliminating run-off elections. The other 40 per cent of the seats are allotted, roughly speaking, by summing up and distributing the remaining votes by way of Laender (state) lists. There is no federal list. If the American or British relative majority system had been accepted, the party composition of the Federal Diet would be very different from what it is. In that case the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), headed by Konrad Adenauer, would have 47 per cent; the Social Democratic Party (SPD), headed by Kurt Schumacher, would have 40 per cent; the Free Democratic Party (FDP), headed by Franz Bluecher, would have 5 per cent; and five other groups, namely, the Bavarian Party (BP), the German Party (DP), and independent members would have 5 per cent, 2 per cent, and 1 per cent of the seats, respectively. The Center Party (Zentrum), the

Economic Reconstruction Party (Wirtschaftliche Aufbauvereinigung), the German Right Party (Deutsche Rechtspartei) and the Communist Party (KPD) would have gained no seats in the Federal Diet. This means that the present Adenauer coalition composed of the CDU, the FDP and the DP would be confronted with an opposition composed of merely the SPD and the Bavarian Party, the few independent members not being counted.

In 1945, right after the destruction of the national socialist system tendencies in favor of a strictly relative majority electoral law along American and British patterns were very strong. Later these tendencies--partly under the influence of important Americans believing in proportional representation--were weakened, a fact which afterwards contributed greatly to the gradual formation of almost as many parties as existed when Hitler came to power. Subsequently, a reversed trend set in again, but, as indicated, not in sufficient strength, with the result that merely the "modified" proportional representation system was established on the federal basis.

The developments in the centrally located state of Hesse have been typical for the changing trends regarding the electoral law. After the initial strong trend towards the majority electoral law had receded, the land of Hesse made proportional representation part even of its constitution. Then it came to regret this inclusion and arranged for a plebiscite in consequence of which proportional representation was removed from the constitution and in Hesse, too, a "modified" proportional representation system was established. (For details see the well-edited periodical Der Wähler quoted above. The German Voters' League, since its foundation, has constantly and, in part successfully, favored the majority system.)

The present electoral law of Hesse is typical also of other remarkable tendencies of general character, namely: (a) to prevent new parties from gaining a foothold in parliament in spite of proportional representation clauses in the electoral law and (b) to eliminate extreme rightist and leftist (especially the KPD) parties. This twofold purpose is served by three quite ingenious special clauses of the electoral law. (See the mimeographed "Hessischer Schnelldienst," published by the Hessisches Statistisches Landesamt in Wiesbaden, Bahnhofstr. 53,

issue of November 20, 1950, page 3.)

1. Landesergänzungsvorschläge (state reserve lists) can be submitted only by parties which have nominated candidates in all of the 48 single member districts.
2. Such nominations, if made by new parties, have to carry 300 signatures of voters residing in the particular single member district. Parties already represented in the Diet need, by contrast, only three signatures of the Land party leadership.
3. In order to enjoy the advantages of the Landesergänzungsvorschlag the party in addition must have received 5 per cent of all the valid votes.

Whereas the latter clause seems to be proper in order to avoid an abundance of splinter parties, the second clause presents a condition which for evident reasons can hardly be fulfilled at all by new parties, especially not by parties extremely left or right of radical character or by parties which the government or the old parties like to term radical.

In Bavaria every voter has two votes, one for a candidate in a single member district, the second one for a candidate on the reserve list of a "Kreis," which is composed of several single member districts. In order to be represented in the Bavarian Diet, a party has to get at least 10 per cent of the votes in at least one "Kreis."

From the foregoing it follows that in Germany also the composition of the parliament is not a reliable indication of the political sentiments of the people, a fact which, as the adherents of the majority system stress, need not be deplored, but which nevertheless has to be kept in mind, especially regarding the German party situation which is still in the early stages of formation.

The Parties of the Expellees

The BHE, Bund der Heimatvertriebenen und Entrechteten (League of the Expellees and Disenfranchised), made its first appearance as a political party in the State Diet elections held on July 9, 1950, for the Land Schleswig-Holstein. It received 307,000 votes, which is 23.4 per cent of all votes, almost as many as the SPD which got 360,000. This success was achieved after only a rather short period of organizational and electioneering work. The party is headed by Waldemar Kraft. There are a few special political features in Schleswig-Holstein: it has an especially large number of expellees living in a predominantly agricultural country, with a large number of unemployed, of which the percentage of expellees is highly disproportionate. In other Laender the general economic and financial situation of the expellees is comparatively better. Nonetheless, the importance of the success of this newly-formed party of Waldemar Kraft was immediately recognized inside and outside Germany. (See, e.g., the New York Times of July 11, 1950; the "Information Letter" of the Frankfurter Hefte, edited by Eugen Kogon, 53 Schaumainkai, Frankfurt a/M., issue of August 1, 1950, pages 8-12; the mimeographed "Informationsdienst" of the Göttinger Arbeitskreis, Göttingen, Bürgerstr. 32, of July 13, 1950, page 2; the mimeographed "Europäische Korrespondenz," Schlüchtern/Hessen, of July 27, 1950.)

Since then similar parties have emerged in Hesse, Wuerttemberg-Baden and Bavaria.

In Hesse, for the elections to the Hessian Diet held on November 19, 1950, the BHE had formed a coalition with the Free Democratic Party. Therefore, the votes gathered by the BHE cannot be given separately, but the BHE succeeded in getting 8 seats (out of 80) in the Diet, i.e., 10 per cent of all seats.

In Wuerttemberg-Baden, at elections likewise held on November 19, 1950, the BHE received 14.7 per cent of all votes and got 15 seats (out of 100) in the Diet.

In Bavaria, at elections of November 26, 1950, it got 12.3 per cent of the votes and 26 members in the Diet (out of 204).

According to the distinguished member of the faculty of law of the University of Göttingen, Professor Dr. Herbert Kraus, these (or related) parties would have sent at least 20 deputies into the Federal Diet instead of the present three, had it not been made impossible by clauses, such as the ones previously mentioned, which prevented them from enjoying the advantages granted by the state reserve lists. Prof. Dr. Herbert Kraus argued in an opinion published about the federal electoral law on June 15, 1949, that the federal provisional electoral law therefore has to be considered unconstitutional.

There can be no doubt that the foreign military governments in Germany look at the development of expellees' parties with disfavor, apparently viewing them as potential centers of communism. Up to now, however, such fears have not proved to be justified. Quite the opposite seems to be correct. It constitutes one of the most striking features of postwar Germany that the expellees--exceptions granted--have been rather conservative in their political attitude and almost immune from communism, perhaps for the reason that they generally attribute to communist Russia the loss of their homelands. On the other hand, the possibility cannot be excluded that the expellees, though not turning towards communism as such, may in the future adhere to some kind of national bolshevism or to some other nationalistic radicalism. But it may be hardly justifiable to base policy on anticipation of such a development. For the time being, the amazing thing is, as said, not the existence of tendencies towards radicalism, but just the absence or weakness of such tendencies. Recently the German Sociological Society at its yearly meeting held at Detmold dealt with the problem of expellees. Reports were made by Prof. Dr. Fedor Stepun, Munich, himself a Russian emigrant, and by Prof. Dr. A. Schelsky, Hamburg. The latter described as an attitude prevailing among expellees, according to investigations made by the Akademie für Gemeinschaftswirtschaft in Hamburg, a trend towards "Einigelung," a kind of political detachment, of expellee isolationism, of "without me" attitude. But at the meeting this analysis was vigorously disputed. Certainly, in view of the formation and successes of the BHE parties, it appears

difficult to speak of "Einigung" or lack of political interest on the part of the expellees.

It may be added that future BHE parties are in the process of formation, including in Lower Saxony, the state neighboring on Schleswig-Holstein. Not all of the expellees are united under the banner of the new BHE parties. However, a number of them have remained faithful to the old parties.

The expellees, of course, want to return to their homelands which were annexed by Soviet Russia and Poland. They want a redistribution of property in Germany fairer, in their opinion, than the federal government so far has envisaged. The core of their political attitude can be regarded as result of a very natural human reaction which, in a similar case, the average American, Frenchman and Britisher, too, very probably would have had.

In Schleswig-Holstein the BHE has entered into a coalition with the CDU, FDP and DP; Waldemar Kraft has accepted the post of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance. In Bavaria, the BHE had formed an election block with the Deutsche Gemeinschaft, headed by August Haussleiter, who occasionally, rightly or wrongly, is accused of nationalistic tendencies. After the election it joined the coalition government of the CSU and SPD, certainly not a testimony of radicalism. In Hesse, the block of the BHE and FDP, formed merely for election purposes, came to an end right after the elections according to official statements of both parties concerned. In Wuerttemberg-Baden, the further policy of the BHE has not yet become sufficiently discernible.

In spite of the apparent successes of the BHE parties, it has to be emphasized that the successes won in Hesse, Wuerttemberg-Baden, and Bavaria are not of the landslide variety as in Schleswig-Holstein. Maybe additional followers of the BHE will, however, still come from other parts of the population, especially from people whose fortunes have been destroyed by bombing or other events of the war period. Although this is possible, it is by no means assured.

IV

The Communist Party

The Communist Party in Western Germany (KPD) has developed into a splinter party. In the elections to the Federal Diet (Bundestag) held on August 14, 1949, it gathered 1,360,000 votes (5.7 per cent and 15 mandates). Since then it has suffered great losses. In Hesse, on November 19, 1950, the KPD received only 87,000 votes or 4.17 per cent in comparison with 142,000 votes or 6.7 per cent at the Bundestag elections. In Wuerttemberg-Baden, on November 19, 1950, it received 70,000 votes or 4.9 per cent; in Bavaria, on November 26, 1950, 178,000 votes or 1.9 per cent. In none of these three Laender, therefore, is the Communist Party represented in parliament.

The party has never succeeded in making inroads into the Social Democratic Party (SPD). It has neither succeeded in bringing about or provoking even the semblance of a major interest in a merger of the SPD and KPD for the establishment of an SED, Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (United Socialist Party), which it has formed in the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany.

However, the importance of the KPD is, of course, not sufficiently reflected by its non-representation in parliament, as revolutionary ideas have always been fostered outside parliament also and by minorities, including very small ones.

Moreover, regarding future developments of the party, much will depend upon the general political, economic, and social conditions which, in all probability, cannot be expected to be very bright ones in postwar Germany. It should, furthermore, not be overlooked that the KPD is at least the party most outspoken in demanding a reunited Germany and it may benefit therefrom should the other parties in this respect become or be believed to have become less firm or unsuccessful.

At least the possibility cannot be excluded that one day the Communist Party will recover from its present near-eclipse in Western Germany. Apparently, it is this apprehension which influences people to

advocate outlawing the KPD as a revolutionary party in accordance with the Bonn Basic Law. This would necessitate, likewise according to the Basic Law, the previous establishment of the Constitutional Supreme Court provided for in the Basic Law. Other people feel that by maneuvers of this kind the party cannot be kept down successfully, but will, in the long run, rather be strengthened, as was the case with the SPD when it was outlawed in the Bismarck Reich. The federal government favors the insertion of anti-communist provisions in the Federal Penal Code. Against the latter tendency many jurists have taken a stand, among them the Bavarian Minister of Justice, Dr. Joseph Mueller, on the occasion of the 1950 Deutscher Juristentag (Convention of German Jurists). According to press reports he called the federal draft for such a revised Penal Code a "Bankrotterklärung der Demokratie" (declaration of bankruptcy on the part of democracy) and "ein Abgleiten in ein politisches Gesinnungsstrafrecht" (a deterioration into a politically opinionated Penal Code), whereby the members of the Courts would be transformed from judges into a kind of police officer. He felt that the Weimar Republic did not come to ruin because of lack of paragraphs but because of lack of an energetic policy of its leaders. "No constitution," he declared, amid wide consent at the convention, "can be protected by means of a Penal Code," especially if this were to involve violation of the basic rights of the individual.

On September 19, 1950, the federal government in a Cabinet meeting resolved to take measures to remove from governmental service both left and right wing radicals. Organizations of such character were specified and membership in them was forbidden to governmental officials and employees. Listed on the left were: KPD, Sozialdemokratische Aktion, Freie Deutsche Jugend, Vereinigung der Sowjet-Freunde, Gesellschaft zum Studium der Kultur der Sowjetunion, Kulturbund zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands, Gesamtdeutscher Arbeitskreis für Land-und Forstwirtschaft, Komitee der Kämpfer für den Frieden, Komitee der jungen Friedenskämpfer, Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes, Nationale Front; on the right: Sozialistische Reichspartei, the so-called "Schwarze Front" (Otto Strasser Movement).

The measures taken so far against the KPD are also disapproved of by those who argue, that by outlawing the party, or by reliance on the Penal Code, or on electoral law techniques, or on not granting the party admission to assembly-halls, or on suppressing its press and publishing firms, etc., not merely much needed interest in the knowledge of communism could be impaired, but also, the energy of ideologically combating communist philosophy could be paralyzed.

It is sometimes stated that those voters who had been lost by the Communist Party voted social democratic. Yet for several reasons this seems incorrect. It can be supposed rather that those who left the Communist fold did not go to the election polls at all.

Up to now signs of "Titoism" amidst the German KPD have not become visible.

V

The Christian Democratic Union

At the first election to a Western German Federal parliament, on August 14, 1949, the Christlich-Demokratische Union (CDU) and its Bavarian sister-party, the Christlich-Soziale Union (CSU), combined, emerged as the strongest German party. They received 7,360,000 votes (31 per cent) and sent 139 members to the Federal Diet. The Social Democratic Party (SPD) was the second strongest, securing 7 million votes (29.2 per cent) and 131 members, the Free Democratic Party (FDP) 2,800,000 votes (11.9 per cent) and 52 members. On the basis of these results it can be stated that the moderate parties of center, left, and right won an overwhelming victory, getting altogether about three quarters of all votes. This is confirmed by the fact that other parties also represented in the Diet may well be reckoned among the moderate ones. Under such circumstances there is no doubt that the vast majority of the German people have expressed thereby a longing for a peaceful development of their future.

The Christian Democratic Party has much in common with the former Center Party, of which Chancellor Dr. Heinrich Bruening was the leader, until the national socialist ascent to power. It differs,

however, from the Center Party in so far as the Center Party was almost exclusively a Catholic Party, whereas the CDU strives to combine Protestants, Catholics and Jews. Thereby it wants to continue especially that exemplary Catholic and Protestant cooperation which has been the result of the common struggle against totalitarian national socialism, a cooperation which the Catholic Church Gazette of Berlin at that time called "the brotherhood in arms."

To some extent the CDU has succeeded in this purpose. About 40 of its deputies in the Federal Diet belong to the Protestant faith. The large majority of the CDU representatives in the Federal Diet adhere, however, to the Catholic faith. More recently the Protestant influence in the party has been weakened for two reasons: first, the party leader, Chancellor Dr. Konrad Adenauer, repeatedly has been accused of conducting his policy under primarily Catholic influences; second, Pastor Martin Niemöller, who has a considerable following among Protestants, came into sharp conflict with the Chancellor, mainly for reasons of foreign policy. He charged him with hampering the reunification of Germany and dangerously fostering German rearmament without a mandate from the people. Particularly in Hesse, many Protestants who originally voted for the CDU have turned away from it, in large part even before Pastor Niemöller started to criticize the Chancellor's policy. It seems that the influence of the Protestant theologian Karl Barth, who at a very early stage spoke out against parties of religious emphasis, had something to do with this kind of revolt of sections of Protestants against the CDU. On the other hand, prominent Protestants are among the leading members of the party, among them Dr. Hermann Ehlers, the president of the Federal Diet, who during the period of National Socialism was an active member of Niemöller's Confessional Church, and Dr. Eugen Gertenmaier, director of the Evangelische Hilfswerk. Besides, the high percentage of votes which the CDU continues to gather in regions like northern Germany, can be explained only by the fact that a large part of the Protestants continue to vote for the CDU. Therefore, it appears premature to deny the possibility of further cooperation between Protestants and Catholics within the ranks of the CDU.

Like Christian democratic parties of other countries the CDU does not claim any monopoly for the conduct of a policy inspired by Christian commandments and principles. Furthermore, it does formally reject clerical directives in the field of politics. Just as, for instance, the Italian Christian Democratic Party under its founder Don Luigi Sturzo has constantly done, so the young German CDU demands to be judged according to its political program and achievements, which the party assures are in line with or influenced by Christian thought. The party expresses the belief that only by using the Christian foundations of western civilization for the reconstruction also of the political life can there be hope of salvaging this civilization and of its coming to new invigoration, for, according to the party, the political crisis of our times is in the last analysis the consequence of the wide loss of religious convictions. It behooves Christian laity, the party declares, to fulfill the pressing task of their political reapplication.

Based on their conviction of the Christian religion that recognizes eternal human sinfulness and imperfection, the CDU is opposed to all concentration of political power, be it on foreign, domestic, economic, or cultural grounds. In this regard the CDU comes closest to the American ideas of "checks and balances" and of separation of powers, originating likewise, or at least to a considerable extent, from religious convictions.

Consequently the CDU advocates, on the economic scene, a balance between private and public influence. In its "Ahlener Programm" of February 3, 1947, it favors with regard to monopolistic enterprises participation of the workers and of the public or/and the state. Recently, Dr. Gerhard Schroeder, one of the most prominent CDU members of the Federal Diet, suggested a reorganization of the German iron and steel industry on such a basis. In regard to this and other matters there are two factions within the party; one being more conservative and headed by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, the other more progressive, and headed by Karl Arnold, Prime Minister of the Land Rheinland-Westphalia, the largest and richest of all German Laender. Arnold and his followers are also proponents of workers' "co-management" in business.

For basically the same reason--the need for balance of power--the CDU is one of the strongest proponents of federalism in Germany. This is true especially regarding its membership in southern Germany, whereas within the CDU north of the Main line (the river Main separating North and South Germany) the tendencies towards federalism are weaker. The Chancellor himself, originally a federalist par excellence, has come to experience in his policy quite a number of drawbacks created by the Bonn Basic Law's federalistic clauses for which, however, his own party, as indicated, is at least co-responsible. For the main part the CDU is responsible also for the creation of the highly federalistic type of Federal Council (Bundesrat) through the Bonn Basic Law. This Federal Council, which sometimes, yet erroneously, is called a Second Chamber, is composed of representatives of the Laender governments and supposed to serve the federalistic ideas; up to now it has in reality often been dominated less by federalistic ideas than by party politics.

Again influenced by the principle of balance of power the CDU has pursued a so-called "Social Market Policy," a policy characterized by economic liberalism without neglect of social exigencies. The Minister of Economics, Dr. Ludwig Erhard, has been, next to the Chancellor, the most important representative, whereas the SPD, in favor of a planned economy, has been the strongest opponent. It is too early to see whether this social market policy will prove definitely successful. Under the influence of foreign trade developments and furthermore under the influence of the strained international situation as such economic trends have set in which, accompanied by price increases and by shortage of certain materials, undoubtedly alienated voters from the CDU, but at least initial successes of the free market policy can hardly be denied.

As to foreign policy, the CDU is characterized by almost exclusive reliance on an understanding and cooperation with the Western Powers. Any CDU tendencies for coming to an understanding with Russia also cannot be seen. Besides, the CDU includes the most ardent supporters of European federation, among them the leader of the CDU in the Federal Diet, Dr. Heinrich von Brentano. Again and again the Chancellor has expressed himself in favor of peaceful cooperation between Germany and France.

Similar to the membership of the former Center Party the membership of the CDU is comprised of industrialists, including representatives of steel and other heavy industries, and industrial workers, some of whom had formerly belonged to the Christian Social labor unions which together with other labor organizations later were merged into one single German labor union. It also includes farmers, intellectuals, civil service people, as a matter of fact, people from all walks of life. For some time it was considered as becoming "the" non-socialist "Sammelpartei" (Everyman's Party). But other parties, especially the FDP (Free Democratic Party), have, in the meantime, diminished such original CDU prospects. Women tend to vote in exceptionally large numbers for the CDU by about ten per cent above the percentage given by women to other parties.

The party congress held at Goslar on October 21 and 22, 1940, has been called the first one because for the first time the CDU had been able to hold a congress comprising the party organizations of all Laender of Western Germany and the Western Sector of Berlin. Up to that time only regional party organizations had existed without being formally bound together by a party statute for all of them. Consequently, only separate party congresses could be arranged, on a Laender or on a zonal basis (representing for instance the British zone of occupation), though an interzonal CDU/CSU executive organization (Interzonenarbeitsgemeinschaft) had existed since April 1947. In contrast, the Social-Democratic Party was organized from the beginning on a national basis, with headquarters located at Hannover wielding a very strong influence over the Laender organizations.

The party program is well explained in a pamphlet issued in 1948 by the CDU headquarters in Cologne under the title "Was ist, was will die CDU?" ("What is, what does the CDU want?"). (Köln/Marienburg, Robert-Heuser-Str. 24.) The party program in its entirety and an outline of the party organization are contained in the Politisches Jahrbuch (Political Year Book) of the CDU/CSU, edited by Bruno Doerpinghaus and Dr. Kurt Witt. (1. Jahrgang 1950, published by the Generalsekretariat der Arbeitsgemeinschaft der CDU/CSU für Deutschland (Joint Executive Committee). Bonn, Alexanderstr. 20, Frankfurt a/M., Bettinastr. 64.) A valuable "Bibliography" of publications, which the editors claim to be of importance for an analysis of

contemporary problems from CDU perspectives is also included in this Year Book.

The most recent formulations of CDU party policy are presented in the following addresses: "The Historic Mandate of the CDU," by Dr. Georg Kiesinger, Member of the Federal Diet; "The Historic Mandate of the CDU," by Prof. Dr. Stier; "The Social Mandate of the CDU," by Dr. Robert Tillmanns, Member of the Federal Diet; "The European Mandate of the CDU," by Dr. Heinrich v. Brentano, Member of the Federal Diet; "Agriculture and Social Market Policy," by Prof. Dr. Niklas, Member of the Cabinet; "The Cultural Mandate of the CDU," by Prof. Dr. Gantenberg. All these addresses, given before the first party congress at Goslar, are published by the Deutschland-Union-Dienst, Frankfurt a/M., Bettinastr. 64 in mimeographed form under date of October 21 and 22, 1950.

According to official information of the CDU headquarters the following newspapers, periodicals, and information services can be regarded (a) as organs of the CDU, (b) as tending towards the party.

(a) Organs of the CDU

Informationsdienst der CDU, Köln.
Deutschland-Union-Dienst, Bonn, Frankfurt.
Union in Deutschland, Bonn, Frankfurt.
CVP-Rundschau, Saarbrücken.
Junge Generation, now Neue Generation, Köln.
Union, Stuttgart (20,000).
Westfälisches Monatsblatt, Dortmund.

(b) Organs tending towards the CDU

Aachener Volkszeitung, Aachen (230,000).
Westfalen-Zeitung, Bielefeld, (110,400).
Ruhr-Nachrichten, Dortmund.
Essener Tageblatt, Essen, (57,000).
Hamburger Freie Presse, (130,000).
Kieler Nachrichten, Kiel, (102,000).
Kölnische Rundschau, Köln, (176,000).
Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, (230,000).
Mülheimer Tageblatt, Mülheim, (7,000).
Westfälische Nachrichten, Münster, (75,000).
Oberhausener Tageblatt, Oberhausen, (10,000).
Die Glocke, Oelde, (29,500).
Neueste Zeitung, Recklinghausen, (17,500).
Westfalenpost, Soest, (170,000).
Bayern-Kurier, München.

Mann in der Zeit, Augsburg, (220,000).
 Christ und Welt, Stuttgart, (65,000).
 Michael, Düsseldorf, (40,000).
 Rheinischer Merkur, Koblenz, (70,000).
 Schwäbische Zeitung, Leutkirch, (121,000).
 Der Abend, Berlin, (73,300, according to Landesver.
 Berlin).
 Der Tag, Berlin.
 Tagespost, Augsburg.
 Schwäbische Landeszeitung, Augsburg.
 Ketteler Wacht.
 Zeitung ohne Namen, Düsseldorf (BVN).
 Der Ueberblick, München, (3,500).
 Dokumente, München, formerly Offenburg, (5,000).
 Neues Abendland, Augsburg.
 Die Aussprache.
 Kommunalpolitische Blätter, Recklinghausen.

These lists, however, should not be considered as exhaustive. There are many hundreds of dailies and periodicals throughout Germany which virtually, though perhaps not exclusively, represent CDU policy or the policy of the Adenauer coalition.

Though the CDU on the occasion of the first elections to the Federal Diet (August 1949) emerged as the strongest of the parties in Western Germany, it cannot be overlooked that, even at that time, the percentage of its voters, as compared with results of previous regional elections, had decreased by 7.7 per cent, and amounted to only 31 per cent of all votes. Since then the party has suffered further losses, especially in the last few important state elections. Its votes went down in the elections held in Hesse from 453,000 in 1949 to 347,000 in 1950, in Wuerttemberg-Baden from 542,000 in 1949 to 379,000 in 1950, in Bavaria from 29.2 per cent of the votes in 1949 to 27.4 per cent in 1950.

The CDU has developed its relatively best stability in the Landtag elections of North Rhine-Westphalia.

As far as the Bavarian results are concerned, conclusions are made difficult by the fact that the Bavarian CSU has been split up by secession of the Bavarian Party from the CSU.

At any rate, the losses are substantial. Whether they will be regained cannot be said yet mainly because it is uncertain whether the Protestants which separated from the party will return to its fold in the future. Other reasons for the losses are numerous and may be summarized here, although partly referred to previously. (1) Separation of expellees from the party, of whom a large portion have formed independent parties. (2) Price increases or other unwelcome economic developments attributed to faulty economic policy of the government. (3) Loss of popularity of leading personalities of the party. (4) Lack of success of the foreign policy of the government. (5) Disapproval (especially by the young generation) of the willingness of the government to contribute to Western European rearmament before Germany is reunited and equality of rights and obligations established. (6) Criticism directed against a too authoritarian rule of the party tending to remove from influence within the party all those who are not limitless conformists. The exclusion from the party of the CDU member Dr. Guenther Gereke and the retirement from office of the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Gustav Heinemann, are examples. (7) Criticism that the party has not been capable of creating and enhancing enthusiasm for its aims. (8) Lack of registered party members. It is said that millions vote for the CDU, but would not regard themselves as its partners, let alone think of becoming members. Consequently, the party has no financial resources of its own, but is dependent on a few big money contributors. Some critics, going much too far apparently, say that under such circumstances it resembles a large club possessing many local branches more than a strongly organized people's party.

In conclusion it appears worth mentioning that, soon after its formation, the party tried to develop relations with similar parties of other countries. In this it had not very substantial but, nevertheless, noticeable success. The secretary general of the CDU/CSU Arbeitsgemeinschaft, Bruno Doerpinghaus, on the occasion of the third annual convention of the youth section of the European Christian Democratic Parties (Nouvelles Equipes Internationales), declared in October 1950, that the Christian Democratic Parties of Europe now had the unique opportunity of taking over the leadership of Europe.

Closely affiliated with the CDU, as was repeatedly stressed in the foregoing, is the Bavarian CSU, part of the Adenauer Coalition government, to which it contributed the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Agriculture. Indeed, the programs of the CDU and CSU do not differ greatly from each other, with the exception, perhaps, that the CSU is even more federalistic than the CDU.

It furthermore merits attention that leading members of the CSU are more interested in coming to some kind of understanding with the east than are many members of the CDU, exclusively orientated towards the west. The name of the strongwilled Bavarian Minister of Justice, Dr. Joseph Mueller, has to be mentioned in this connection as one of the foreign political authorities of the CSU.

The CSU has voted against the Bonn Basic Law, regarding it as too centralistic.

Head of the party is the present Bavarian Prime Minister, Dr. Hans Ehard. Another widely known member of the party is Dr. Aloys Hundhammer, up to December 1950 Bavarian Minister of Education, who has often been accused by his opponents of conducting a reactionary and clerically influenced cultural policy in Bavaria, but whose political integrity and ability have not been questioned.

VI

The Social Democratic Party

Since the elections to the Federal Diet the second strongest party of Western Germany, the Social Democratic Party, has increased its strength in the last few State Diet (Landtag) elections. It received the following votes:

	<u>1949</u>		<u>1950</u>	
Hesse:	683,000	32.1%	687,000	42.7%
Wuerttemberg-				
Baden:	441,000	27.2%	476,000	33.0%
Bavaria:	1,075,000	22.8%	2,600,000	28.0%

The difference in number of votes is partly due to a change of the electoral law in Bavaria and therefore offers no exact basis for comparison.

In Hesse, the SPD gained the absolute majority in the Federal Diet, having 47 seats as against 33 seats for all other parties.

It probably goes without saying that what worked to the detriment of the CDU has worked to the advantage of the SPD. The party has not been against European unification, but has refrained from advocating German participation on any basis other than that of equality of rights and obligations. The party has not been against a German contribution to the rearmament of Europe, but again emphasized that this has to be done on the basis of equal rights and obligations and of sufficient military strength of the Western Powers to prevent, in case of war, Germany's becoming immediately the main and completely ruined battlefield of Europe. The party, furthermore, has a relatively large membership of about 900,000, and is therefore less dependent than other parties upon the readiness of individual donors for election campaigns. In addition, it has a stable and large number of followers among the unified labor movement. To its critics, on the other hand, its policy regarding the east appears rather sterile. They cannot see that any particular idea has been developed of how to reach some reunification of the whole of Europe, i.e., including the hereditary parts of Europe east of the iron curtain and the Soviet Zone of Germany. They feel it has remained to a considerable extent Marxian and a class party and they state that in this regard it differs from the British Labour Party. As a whole the party can be said to follow an economic, cultural and domestic policy similar to that of the British Labour Party, but in foreign affairs the German Social Democratic Party, when serving the particular situation of the German people, cannot emulate the British Labour Party's foreign policy. It has, consequently, been in conflict with British foreign policy on many occasions, while supporting the British labor policy in other aspects, e.g., in its hesitant attitude regarding European unification.

Other criticism of the SPD maintains that it is under a leadership at least as authoritarian as the CDU, that its policy regarding European unification is leaning too heavily on cooperation with the British

Labour Party and is thereby in effect hampering the work of European unification, that in matters of rearmament its policy is confused because it wants to make a German contribution only after overwhelming western strength is assured, but in such case, critics maintain, a German contribution would hardly be needed, and that its cultural policy is lacking or weak as to Christian impulses and has not overcome sufficiently 19th century ideas.

It should not be overlooked that at least up to and including the elections to the Federal Diet the Social Democratic Party, like the CDU, has lost votes. The percentage of its votes was smaller at that time than before.

The SPD is headed by Dr. Kurt Schumacher, Erich Ollenhauer and Prof. Dr. Carlo Schmid. It is the center of the parliamentary opposition which is a loyal, i.e., constitutional, non-revolutionary one. The SPD refrains from relations with the Communist Party and therefore has not been inclined to contact the SED, the Communist-dominated Socialist Unity Party of German (Sozialistische Einheits-Partei Deutschlands), in the Soviet-occupied zone, though a large part of the members of the SED had been former members of the SPD, among them Otto Grotewohl, the Prime Minister of the Soviet zone, and Friedrich Ebert, Mayor of the Soviet sector of Berlin, son of the first President of the Weimar Republic.

In the Federal Diet the SPD has several Protestant clergymen among its members, thus giving proof of the continuance of so-called religious socialism within its ranks. However, a large part of the SPD party in the Federal Diet describe themselves as "dissidents," i.e., as not formally belonging to any religious denomination.

The party is in favor of socialization of the heavy industries especially also the Ruhr Industry. In principle it supports the Schuman Plan, but actually with considerable reservations, for it favors a European Ruhr, as indicated, only on the basis of complete equality of rights and obligations. It is afraid that under the influence of the CDU and its corresponding parties in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands a "European" Ruhr would lead to the perpetuation of private capitalism, if not monopolism. In this too it shares opinions and apprehensions of the British Labour Party.

Its leader, Kurt Schumacher, has often been accused of nationalism. Yet this does not appear to be justified. He has spent ten years in Hitler's concentration camps because of his anti-totalitarian and anti-nationalistic stand. It is hard to prove that what he emphasizes goes beyond the confines of a healthy patriotism, such as is also accepted in the United States, France, and Great Britain.

It seems that today there are many Germans who disapprove of the economic ideas as well as the cultural policy of the SPD, but feel in accord with a good deal of its foreign policy. Perhaps it would be disastrous if opposition in matters of foreign policy were--in contrast to Great Britain, France, or the United States--to be left exclusively to left wing or right wing radicals.

The fact that the Social Democratic Party is not pursuing "disloyal" attitudes regarding the western parliamentary system with its ramifications is evidenced by a remarkable address delivered by Prof. Dr. Carlo Schmid before the party congress of 1950, on "The German Social Democratic Party confronted with the Spiritual Situation of our Times" (published by the Parteivorstand der SPD, Hannover, Odeonstr. 15/16). In this address Schmid denies the present validity of quite a few opinions prevailing at the time of Karl Marx and represented by him, although he underlines the basic correctness of many Marxian findings. He stresses as the never-ceasing aim of socialism the classless society, but he vigorously turns against any program of achieving the aims of his "party of the laboring class" by establishing a dictatorship.

Other recent SPD programmatic formulations are contained in a pamphlet issued by the Parteivorstand in Hannover called "Das Programm der Opposition" ("The Program of the Opposition"). The pamphlet contains the texts of speeches given by Dr. Kurt Schumacher, Erich Ollenhauer and Dr. Carlo Schmid in the Federal Diet on September 21, 23, and 29, 1949. The text of the so-called "Dürkheim sixteen points" gives the guiding principles for the policy of the SPD in the Federal Diet. This Dürkheim program of the SPD reads in excerpts as follows:

Dürkheim Program of the SPD

The presiding officers (Vorstand) of the Social Democratic Party at a meeting on August 30, 1950, held in Bad Dürkheim, formulated the following sixteen points, the fulfillment of which appears to be a prerequisite for a healthy German state:

1. Assurance of full employment.
2. Planned credit and raw material policy.
3. Equalization of the social burden by seizing part of the private fortunes and not merely the revenues of fortunes.
4. Federal furthering of housing projects, especially under the point of view of social justice.
5. Help to the expellees and all those who have suffered war damages.
6. Reorganization of social insurance, etc.
7. Co-management of the workers in business under participation of the labor unions.
8. Abolition of the political and economic power of big property and of the managers through socialization of the basic raw materials--and key industries.
9. Guaranties for free deployment (freie Entfaltung) of the forces of the agricultural, trade, and handicraft middle-class.
10. Strengthening of communal self-administration.
11. Confining Allied interference to merely control measures. Changing the Ruhr Statute. Rejection of dismantling of peace-industry.
12. Inclusion of Berlin as 12th federal state into the Western Federal Republic.
13. Rejection of the Oder-Neisse-Line as German frontier. Retention of the Saar Territory within the German borders.

14. Measures against separatistic and particularistic policies.

15. Cultural freedom.

Another publication of importance is the reprint of an address delivered by Dr. Kurt Schumacher on September 17, 1950, in Stuttgart, published by the party (Parteivorstand) in Hannover under the title "Germany's Contribution for Peace and Freedom."

Furthermore, the Social Democratic Party has published Yearbooks covering the years of 1946, 1947, and 1948/49 (Jahrbücher der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands). These Yearbooks present surveys of the situation in all the different zones of occupation and of Berlin. They deal with organizational affairs, women's activities, young socialists, newspapers and other publications, and propaganda. In addition, the Yearbooks discuss party activities in matters of economics, agriculture, constitutional life, administration, foreign policy, social policy, expellees' questions, labor unions, etc. They also contain election results and reports about the political developments in the different Länder, as Hesse, Württemberg-Baden, Bavaria, Bremen in the American zone, North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg in the British zone, Southern Baden, Württemberg-Hohenzollern, Rhineland-Palatinate, and the Saar Territory in the French zone, and finally Berlin.

The published minutes of the party conventions in 1946, 1947, and 1948 are available.

The party has at its disposal a large number of periodicals, information sheets, etc. In a publication issued by the Parteivorstand in Hannover on April 27, 1950, SPD or near-SPD publications were listed. Additional information was published under date of July 25, 1950. (See Appendix.)

VII

The Free Democratic Party

The Free Democratic Party (FDP), together with the CDU/CSU and the German Party (DP) (see Chapter VIII), forms part of the present German coalition government. Among its prominent members are the Federal President, Dr. Theodor Heuss, and the Vice Chancellor, Dr. Franz Bluecher. The party has a good deal in common with the former Progressive Party of the Bismarck Reich and the former Democratic Party of the Weimar period, but whereas the parties of that time were left wing parties seated in the Reichstag between the Social Democratic Party and the former Center Party, the present FDP (which in some states is also called Deutsche Volks-Partei (DVP--German People's Party)) has definitely taken its stand right of the CDU. It apparently wants to be a party of the right, not of the left. In this the FDP also differs from the British Liberal Party, with which it sympathizes however.

In spite of these right wing tendencies, progressive and democratic ideas are not missing within the party ranks. Heuss and Bluecher themselves should perhaps be reckoned more as scions of the ancient progressive and liberal type.

Yet the situation as is immediately offers the highly involved fact that in complete contrast to former German history, no party of strength exists between the CDU and SPD in present-day Germany. This is all the more significant because the FDP has a good deal of its support forthcoming from big industry and business. It remains to be seen whether the FDP will avoid becoming thereby subservient to them. It also remains to be seen whether the FDP will be strong enough to survive inroads of exclusively rightist parties in case such should come into strong existence. For it has to be remembered that the National Liberal Party of the Bismarck Reich and Gustav Stresemann's Deutsche Volks-Partei, with which the FDP has politically as much if not more in common as with the former progressives and democrats, was constantly threatened and weakened by plainly rightist parties, e.g., by the Deutschnationale Volkspartei (German National People's Party) of Hugenberg.

Since 1945 the FDP has grown in number of votes as well as in inner consolidation. It has gained a considerable number of friends among the young generation also, especially among the academic youth. In particular, it has remained rather stable at a time when the CDU, its partner in the Bonn government coalition, has, as discussed before, lost votes. Compared with the elections to the Federal Diet in 1949, the FDP fared as follows in the last few state elections:

	<u>1949</u>		<u>1950</u>	
Hesse:	596,000	28.1%	588,000	31.8%

(1949 figures include National Democratic (splinter) Party; 1950 figures include the BHE, but not the NDP, therefore exact basis for comparison is not offered.)

Wuerttemberg-				
Baden:	318,000	18.2%	303,000	21.1%
Bavaria:		8.5%		7.1%

(Due to a change of the electoral law in Bavaria the difference in number of votes is not an exact basis for comparison.)

With regard to its cultural policy (perhaps only in this regard), the FDP stands somewhat between the SPD and the CDU. It is not less vociferous than the SPD in accusing the CDU of "clericalism." It is especially against parochial schools. But it, too, strongly stresses the Christian basis of its policy. The large majority of its followers are Protestants, which is likewise reminiscent of the composition of former German national-liberalism, liberalism and progressivism.

A prominent member of the FDP is the Federal Minister of Justice, Thomas Dehler, a Protestant Bavarian. He and a large section of the FDP are often accused of exaggerated nationalistic tendencies, an accusation which, however, still lacks sufficient proof.

In matters of foreign policy the FDP has not yet substantially differentiated itself from the CDU or specifically the Adenauer policy.

In economic matters the party is, far more than the CDU, devoted to economic individualism and free enterprise. It is against socialization and any other collectivist system. To a certain extent it is "Jeffersonian" as to economics, if not "Manchestarian."

In domestic policy it is mainly centralistic and anti-federalist.

Under able leadership, with more than average support forthcoming, as said, from the younger generation, using admittedly somewhat stronger national language than the CDU, offering refuge to those Protestants who have turned or may still turn away from the CDU, a future upward trend of the FDP appears possible.

The party was founded in Berlin on June 16, 1945, by the former Reichsminister of the Interior, Dr. Wilhelm Kuelz, later accused of yielding to communist pressure in the Soviet zone, a tragic, but honest and outstanding figure in German party history.

As to a detailed summary of the present programmatic aims of the FDP reference may be made to the so-called "Bremer Beschlüsse" (Bremen resolutions) which were adopted by the 1950 party convention held in Bremen and published in mimeographed form under no. 99-115 (resolutions no. 1-17) by the deputy leader of the party. Other resolutions of programmatic character were made by the main committee of the party on September 24, 1950 at a meeting held in Kassel. These and further resolutions are reprinted in the Deutscher Kurier, liberal weekly for politics, economics and culture (published in Frankfurt, Neue Mainzerstr. 24, issue of September 30, 1950). The editor is August M. Euler, member of the Federal Diet. The Kassel resolutions are also reprinted in Der Freie Demokrat (edited by Ernst Mayer, published in Stuttgart, Rotebühlstr. 51). Of importance is the economic program of the FDP as approved by the Free Democratic Party of the British zone of occupation (published in pamphlet-size by the FDP under the imprint of Julius Lehnert, Hamburg, E. P. 174.).

The following party publications might be mentioned as of further interest: Das Neue Vaterland, Stuttgart, Rotebühlstr. 51, Die Plattform (Fraktions-r undschreiben), and Die FDP Briefe (mimeographed publication, editor Dr. Franz Bluecher).

As in the case of the CDU, a very large number, again hundreds, if not thousands, of periodicals and newspapers represent FDP policy, although they deny direct or indirect party affiliation.

VIII

The German Party

The third coalition party is the Deutsche Partei (German Party--DP), which got about one million votes in the Federal Diet elections and thereupon was allotted 17 deputies. Under a majority electoral law its inclusion into the Adenauer government coalition would not have occurred, for reasons explained in Chapter II.

The party calls itself a party of the right. It began on a strongly federalistic basis when it was founded in the former Welf territories which up to 1837, i.e., up to the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign, were connected with England through personal union. Now less federalistic, it has spread throughout other parts of northern Germany. The DP is overwhelmingly Protestant. In its economic policy the DP is leaning towards the FDP. Its feelings are "anti-Prussian," but undoubtedly German, if not of nationalistic flavor, as some say.

IX

Center Party - Bavarian Party

Other parties of importance are the Center Party and the Bavarian Party.

The Center Party regards itself as the true heir of the old Center Party (Zentrum) of the Weimar Republic, though today most of the outstanding personalities of the Weimar Party are to be found in the CDU. Its followers are mainly Catholics, but the party claims not to pursue denominational tendencies. It received only 727,000 votes (3.7 per cent) at the elections to the Federal Diet. It was allotted 10 seats as result of proportional representations. In America or England, under the majority electoral law system, it would hardly exist even as a splinter party. The leader of the party, a woman, is highly respected,

talented and energetic and wields influence beyond the party; Helene Wessel also shows great interest and judgment in matters of foreign affairs. It remains to be seen whether the party will enjoy a future in spite of apparent financial difficulties.

Chancellor Adenauer is exercising particular care in his relations to the Center Party in the obvious endeavor to achieve a fusion of the CDU and the Center Party.

The party's political place is left of the CDU. It is more inclined to accept socialization than the CDU and it is also more inclined to have cooperation with the SPD than Adenauer and the CDU. The party has adherents especially among the workers of North-Rhine Westphalia.

In contrast, the Bavarian Party is a true majority party in a few Bavarian voting districts and would also be represented in a parliament based on a majority electoral law. The party has done considerable damage to the CSU, of which it is an offspring, but it has perhaps already reached its climax. At the last Bavarian elections held on November 26, 1950 the CSU received 27.4 per cent of the votes and 64 seats, the Bavarian Party received 17.2 per cent of the votes and 39 seats, as against 29.2 per cent and 20.9 per cent respectively at the Federal Diet elections in August 1949. Together both parties would have a weak majority in the Bavarian Diet. Yet the tension between the two parties is great. The largest part of its members, just as in the Center Party, are Catholics. Criticism accuses the Bavarian Party of not being federalistic, but particularistic or even separatistic. The party is clearly not so much for German federation as confederation. The leader of the Bavarian Party is Dr. Joseph Baumgartner. According to the Deutsche Presse-Agentur (DPA) of December 29, 1949, he stated in a New Year's message that "with all legal means available to us this so-called West German Federation robbing us of our freedom must be fought." At the party congress held in Munich in August 1950, Dr. Baumgartner, in almost unparalleled language, made, according to the Neue Zeitung of August 6, 1950, the following remarks: "We [Bavarians] . . . can only pray: Lord, redeem us of this evil [the Bonn West German Federation]. Amen." He criticized the financial contributions of the German Federation to the people of Berlin and said that Bonn as federal capital is

"apparently only the first step leading towards Berlin which we, however, will never accept as capital."

The party has recently gone through a crisis. Former members were brought before a committee of the Federal Diet investigating alleged contributions given them in order to influence their votes.

X

Extreme "Right Wing" Groups

At the right of the DP we find a multitude of political groups. To call them "parties" would mean exaggeration of their importance, but their potentialities nevertheless merit consideration. It is often asked whether a new National Socialism or nationalism might emerge from them.

In this connection it is necessary to realize that, first, with a few exceptions, these groups cannot, in the usual sense, be considered as belonging to the "right." Their thinking is not in line with conservative ideas. The German conservative forces, working for preservation of the principles of western civilization, are generally to be found within the CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, and their affiliates, also within the SPD rather than within the groups under discussion, for most of the "right wing" political organizations are more collectivistic than individualistic, more revolutionary than evolutionary. In view of the singular conditions prevailing in Germany and their unfavorable influence upon the political climate it cannot be foreseen whether these groups might succeed in weakening the position of parties like the CDU, SPD, and FDP. Certainly, the longer these conditions prevail, the greater can become their chances, the more has to be reckoned with the emergence of discontented elements which will array themselves under a new, able demagogy not based on healthy patriotic, but on nationalistic feelings. Fortunately, among German youth of today a really national socialist creed can be observed but very occasionally.

It cannot be repeated too often that what is remarkable in present-day German party developments is not strength but absence of nationalistic radicalism. Even such capable "right wing" campaigners like Dr.

Fritz Dorls and Hitlerite ex-General Otto Ernst Rehmer were not able, up to now, to make headway with their "Socialistic Reich's Party" (Sozialistische Reichs-Partei--SRP). It is said that they are spokesmen for Otto Strasser who is still in Canada, or for Ernst Niekisch, now in the Soviet zone. Dorls and Rehmer did not win more than about 2 per cent of the votes even in the recent Schleswig-Holstein elections in spite of the fact that, as previously stated, the economic crisis there is especially great. Neither have these groups been able to prove any strength in the November elections which took place in Hesse, Wuerttemberg-Baden and Bavaria.

On June 24 and 26, 1950, several right wing splinter parties are reported to have resolved at a secret conference held in Neuwied to start cooperation among themselves with the final aim of fusing the splinter groups into a single "national party" (United Press, June 26). Mentioned in this connection, besides the Sozialistische Reichs-Partei, were the Vaterländische Union (Patriotic Union) of Karl Feitenhansl, the National-Demokratische Partei (National Democratic Party) led by Karl Heinz Priester, and a group of independents headed by Joachim von Ostau. No success of these endeavors has become visible. (For steps taken against the Sozialistische Reichs-Partei see Chapter IV.)

A thorough study of nationalistic "right wing" tendencies in Germany of today, a study perhaps too thorough and thereby tending to exaggerate the problem, has been published in an issue of the "Information Letter" of the Frankfurter Hefte for September 1, 1950 (no. 78, p. 1-11).

XI

Pressure Groups

In the United States the part played by political pressure groups is one of the main topics with which political science deals. It is correctly said that the study of the transmission of the influence of the pressure groups to political life is even one of the central tasks which political science has to perform. (See "Die Wissenschaft der Politik in der Demokratie" by Dr. Franz Neuman (Professor of Political Science at Columbia University), Schriftenreihe der Deutschen Hochschule für Politik Berlin,

Gebr. Weiss Verlag, Berlin, p. 20.)

For a long time and very naturally in Germany, too, so-called pressure groups have wielded influence (in Hitler's terminology named "Interessenhaufen"). One may think of the Navy League (Flottenverein) or of the Farmers' Union (Bund der Landwirte), or of the labor organizations or of the Central Union of German Industry (Zentralverband der deutschen Industrie), some of them in existence since the time of Bismarck. There is no doubt that interest groups also wield influence within the German parties of today.

In this connection the question is occasionally raised whether the classification of parties of the right or of the left still makes sense in Germany. As has frequently been mentioned before, in economic and social matters a large part of the CDU/CSU, perhaps also of the Bavarian Party and of the right wing groups can be called "near socialistic"; yet, in cultural and related matters the CDU and the Bavarian Party are clearly on the political right, in the old sense of the term; in matters of centralization or decentralization, of federalism or unitarianism the Social Democratic Party often ranges close to the Free Democratic Party, in opposition to the CDU/CSU and the Bavarian Party and perhaps also to parts of the German Party (DP). Moreover, the growing influence of the expellees' parties makes itself felt in the ranks of all parties. Where are the economically or the socially privileged classes or castes; are they on the "right" or on the "left" when millions of fortunes have been wiped out in virtually all sectors of German life? "Right and "left" are in present-day Germany apparently often woven or mixed into each other. Under these circumstances interest groups within Germany have to work in many parties at the same time and under conditions more difficult if not, relatively speaking, even more expensive than in other countries in which, of course, they likewise are often forced to turn to "right and left" factions at the same time.

Some light has been shed on this situation during the Federal Diet "Spiegel" investigation. A weekly, Der Spiegel, had published an article according to which some deputies of the Federal Diet had taken money for voting for or against Bonn or Frankfurt when the question had to be decided which city should become the capital of the federal government. These

investigations have not come to an end yet and final conclusions cannot be drawn.

According to press reports, even a spokesman of the Social Democratic Party has recently stated that all the parties need major private contributions in order to function though he simultaneously denied that the Social Democratic Party had been offered or accepted money from the labor unions (Gewerkschaften). The Bonn Basic Law says in article 21 that the parties have to give account of the sources of their financial means, but so far no legislation has been enacted to this effect.

The fact that in Germany the former distinction between parties of the left and of the right has lost a good deal of its meaning, should, however, not lead to the conclusion that the traditional terms of political right and left have lost every meaning or are not widely used any more in Germany. On the contrary, as recently as after the last election to the Bavarian Diet some Bavarian parties entered into a feud whether they should be seated in parliament on the right or on the left. Neither should it be concluded that because of the precarious differentiation between the political right and left in Germany interest groups have lost anything of their actual or potential importance. On the basis of the preceding discussion, it is evident that their importance has remained as great in Germany as in the United States or elsewhere. In the struggle, for instance, regarding socialization it seems that the main influence of the industrial interest groups favors the parties of the Adenauer coalition government, the main influence of the united labor union (Einheitsgewerkschaft) favors the SPD.

XII

Coalition Governments

In present-day Germany no party has a majority in the federal parliament nor can any expect to get one in the near future. This makes coalition governments necessary. Discussions are constantly conducted about whether a so-called "great" or "small" coalition government should be formed. A "great" coalition is one which would include the Social Democratic Party in the existing coalition. Both the leader of the CDU, Konrad Adenauer, as well as the leader of the SPD, Kurt

Schumacher, have repeatedly declined the formation of a great coalition from the point of view that this would prevent the functioning of a "loyal opposition" on the pattern of the British and American party systems and could perhaps lead ultimately to a situation which characterized the Weimar Republic, in which the opposition came to exist eventually only of radical parties of the right and of the left, because of long existence of "great" coalitions. Therefore, it is feared stagnation or avoidable increase of radicalism could also be the result of a new great coalition policy. Nevertheless, there are strong adherents to this idea, especially within the CDU.

Konrad Adenauer in his aversion to a great coalition even went so far as to advocate the coordination of the Laender governments with the federal government by forming in the Laender, if possible, "small" coalition governments. His main opponents to this within his own party are said to be, among others, the Prime Minister of Rhineland-Westphalia, Karl Arnold, and the former Minister of Finance in Hesse, Werner Hilpert.

The question comes up, of course, why no two-party system can be visualized in Germany, although in the United States and England it is virtually an unwritten part of the constitution. The reasons are manifold. First, the average German citizen is not much given to compromise in matters of party politics. He often regards a political compromise as a sign of weakness of character and does not properly distinguish between the good of a compromise and the evil of "Kuhhandel" (log-rolling). He is fond of forming new parties when he does not completely agree with the existing parties instead of being content with partial agreement. Second, in Germany there are wide ideological differences of opinion, much wider and deeper than in Great Britain and the United States where, for instance, no communism of any strength exists and the ideas of western democracy have been deep-rooted for a long time. Third, in Germany the leaders of the main parties rule their parties rather stronghandedly. Nonconformists are in constant danger of being excluded from the ranks of the party. For this reason, individualistic personalities often cannot find proper opportunities for work within the parties. Fourth, the electoral law by mainly emphasizing proportional representation, has hampered the development of a two-party system.

Only this latter factor can perhaps be changed within a foreseeable future, whereas the other three factors could, of course, be changed, only after a considerable period of time. Therefore, coalition governments in all probability will continue to exist in Germany and perhaps should exist, at least as long as the above three factors cannot be remedied, for the alternative, in this case, could well be a too monolithic, too uncompromising, too dangerous system of "either/or," "yield or break," "black or white" policy. As matters are at present, one could be contented if in Germany the multi-party system and its damaging effects were restrained by developing a limited multi-party system of three to five parties in parliament, maybe by confining, at the same time, the list system to about ten per cent of the seats and by otherwise establishing an absolute majority electoral system including run-off elections (Stichwahlen).

This all too brief analysis of the German problem of party coalitions must here suffice to indicate how difficult it is to measure the German party system, and for that matter, even a good deal of the continental party systems as such, according to British or American yardsticks.

XIII

Frequent Criticisms of the Parties

Political parties are not particularly popular in any country. The term "politician" rarely implies flattery, but no Britisher or American would feel inclined to deny the necessity of parties. Though he may regard them as an evil or something not very praiseworthy, he nevertheless would understand that one cannot do without them if political freedom should be preserved.

This difference is present-day Germany. Again and again it is argued that political parties are remnants of past, obsolete, antiquated 19th century thinking and that they should be replaced, the sooner the better, by some kind of "Staende" (estates) or some related system.

Youth especially, and this is the most dangerous fact, tends to be apathetic towards the parties and most outspoken in criticism, though all major parties have formed youth organizations, such as the "Junge Union" (CDU/CSU), the "Falken" and the "Sozialistische Arbeiterjugend (SPD), the "Junge Demokraten" (FDP). In Wiesbaden, the capital of the state of Hesse, not more than 10 per cent of those born between 1915 and 1928 took part in the last elections to the Hessian Diet (November 19, 1950), and in other Laender the situation is similar, though one should refrain from a too far-reaching generalization of the Wiesbaden figures. Youth is interested in politics, but is not interested in party politics. Youth does not want to join the parties because it had once joined a party, the National Socialist Party, or often was joined to it, and through what might still prove shortsightedness of the occupying powers later became subjected to "denazification" procedures. "A burnt child dreads the fire." Besides, the parties have not been able to win youth over to them by giving them a major share of seats in parliament. Moreover, the leading politicians, most of them once-defeated "Weimarianer" (parliamentarians of the Weimar Republic), were not very eager to limit their own parliamentary possibilities by nominating young people as candidates for elections. Such criticism, on the part of youth, of the prevalence of "Weimarianer" is not directed against the ideas and the spirit of the Weimar constitution, the high idealistic content of which is not denied, but rather against certain re-introduced Weimar institutions, such as proportional representation, the creation of a somewhat colorless Federal Council (formerly Reich's Council), the rule by party-caucuses (Fraktionszwang), an overgrowth of the spoils system, allegedly endangering the civil service system, etc. If the reestablished German republic does not attract youth to a much larger extent than heretofore, it will certainly be doomed eventually, as the most important Chancellor of the Weimar Republic, Dr. Heinrich Bruening, some time ago stressed in a speech delivered in Chicago.

Other large sections of the public have also become lethargic regarding domestic and party politics. To be sure, in Bavaria and in Berlin on the occasion of the last elections the participation of the people was a broad one, comprising over 80 per cent of the enfranchised, but this had specific reasons. In Bavaria, the reason was the bitter feud between the CSU and the Bavarian Party, in Berlin, the reason was the

particularly exposed, dangerous situation of the city, itself divided into two sections, East and West Berlin, the latter lying as an almost isolated island in the Soviet-dominated zone. More representative of the wide apathy of the people, therefore, are the figures of about 63 per cent and 58 per cent of the voters' participation in the elections in Hesse and Wuerttemberg-Baden. In the Weimar Republic and also in the Kaiserreich the population was most eager to participate in voting. What is the reason for the lethargy? Rightly or wrongly the people feel that the parties themselves are dominated by small cliques: that the candidates as a rule are not nominated by primary party elections, but under the influence of party functionaries or bosses; that the people after the elections are hardly consulted any more; that the governments do not inform them sufficiently.

Besides criticizing the parties for their alienation of youth and for the widely spread lethargy, the parties are often criticized because of the aforementioned "Fraktionszwang" (caucus system). Though it is admitted that leadership within the party is indispensable, many people feel that the party leaderships in Germany use this to go too far. Seldom are party lines crossed as in the American Congress or in the French Parliament, though not in Great Britain. It seems that remedy can come only by return to the majority election system in connection with nomination of the candidates by primary elections, for otherwise the local candidate will always be too dependent on the influence of the party headquarter's machinery.

Another criticism accuses the parties of being too "doktrinär" (doctrinary). One feels that they emphasize the difference of world views too much, even in matters where one could well dispense with them. The criticism is all the more remarkable because it cannot be disputed that the main contemporary issue, that of Communism, is of world-view character and that National Socialism, too, has been of world-view character.

It is furthermore often maintained that the German political climate as such has become one of "restauration." One misses new impulses coming from the parties as a result of the enormous and disastrous experiences under National Socialism; one is uncertain whether the parties are not too much of a Bourbon character, "not having forgotten anything and having learned little afresh."

Criticism of minor impact but of considerable effect is also directed against the large number of ministries erected in the capitals of the Laender, the great number of German prime ministers, a category of mass production in which Germany is leading the entire world, partly as the result of policies imposed on the nation by the occupying powers, partly by not being economical enough, regarding which high expenses made in Bonn have offered other food for antagonism.

But in fairness it has to be stated that a good deal of the criticism is going too far. One likes to overlook that the present-day parties are heir to an almost unsurpassed disaster in consequence of the National Socialist heritage; one forgets that no earthly institution has ever been in the hands of saints and that one cannot expect parties to be much better than the average of the population itself is. One forgets that the party leaderships and the federal government as well as the Laender governments, though partly helped by the Allied governments, are nevertheless not granted the full independence they need for the conduct of responsible government; that there really is no peace yet, especially not in the hearts of victors and vanquished, but still occupation thoughts and statuses. One forgets that demonstrably the German parties possess a considerable number of personalities of strong character and of rich and sound imagination, hardly inferior to their American and British counterparts. But be this as it may, the widespread criticism of the parties should be regarded as a danger signal, last but not least by the leaders of the parties also.

About a year ago the "Wirtschaftspolitische Gesellschaft von 1947" (Frankfurt/Main, Börse), with the help of the "Institut für Demoskopie" took a poll regarding the parties. Significantly, only 13 per cent of the interviewed people were greatly interested in the realization of a party program, whereas 78 per cent said that party-political interest should be pushed into the background. Most of the people, it appeared, voted for parties because abstention from voting was regarded as the major evil, voting for parties as the minor evil.

XIV

Berlin

At the elections in the western sectors of Berlin on December 3, 1950, the CDU and FDP gained votes whereas the Social Democratic Party suffered losses attributed to lessened popularity of Mayor Ernst Reuter's city administration due to too much party favoritism. Whether the losses had much to do with the Social Democratic policy of opposition to so-called "remilitarization" appears doubtful. Besides, the western sectors of Berlin have always been an area of strong non-socialist influences. On the occasion of the previous Berlin election the especially great popularity then of Mayor Ernst Reuter seems to have won votes for the party which were not essentially socialist. Nevertheless, the vote is indicative of the sentiment of the Berlin population in this: all overwhelmingly victorious parties--SPD, CDU, and FDP--have never ceased to be exponents of western democratic ideas.

XV

Concluding Remarks

Altogether, when judging the political parties of Western Germany it would be appropriate not to look out too much for specifically German mysteries, but rather for such factors which usually and everywhere tend to exercise influence for better or worse. If these factors are understood and appreciated, corresponding treatment of illness or danger spots will be most feasible. Political Pharisaism or superiority complexes are least apt to be helpful for dealing with party problems in Germany or anywhere else.

For the present it is less essential to contemplate whether the SPD may grow radical, whether people of the "pseudo-right" will be able to produce a new "leader," whether the CDU continues to be strong or will split up because of inner tensions (which, as often as not, can be a sign of health). The overwhelmingly great question, really far more important than the Marshall Plan or the unification of Europe or military preparedness, is and will be: can the western world

still develop in time a political antithesis to Communism, a political gospel based on ideas preached as well as practiced and therefore entirely believable to the common man of all nations. On the answer to this question will depend the future of Western civilization. The problem of the political parties of today is basically connected with and dependent on the problem of solving the general crisis of our age.

Appendix

SPD and pro-SPD Publications

Daily and Weekly Newspapers

Telegraf (daily); Depesche (Das grosse Telegraf
Abendblatt) (daily); Telegraf am Sonntag; Telegraf
am Montag. Berlin-Grünwald, Bismarckplatz.

BS: Das Berliner Stadtblatt. Berlin-Wilmersdorf,
Babelsbergstr. 38.

Volksblatt. Berlin-Spandau, Neuendorfer Str. 101.

Freie Presse. Bielefeld, Arndtstr. 8.

Westfälische Rundschau. Dortmund, Bremer Str. 16.

Rhein-Echo. Düsseldorf, Königsallee 27.

Neue Ruhr-Zeitung. Essen, Sachsenstr. 36.

Volksstunde (weekly). Frankfurt a/M., Bockenheimer
Landstr. 136/138.

Das Volk. Freiburg i. Br., Kaiser-Josef-Str. 229.

Hamburger Echo. Hamburg 1, Speersort 1.

Hamburger Morgenpost. Hamburg 1, Speersort 1.

Hannoversche Presse. Hannover, Georgstr. 33.

Neue Woche. Montagsblatt für Sport und Leben.
Hannover, Georgstr. 33.

Neuer Vorwärts. (Zentralorgan der SPD) (weekly).
Hannover, Odeonstr. 16.

Neckar-Echo. Heilbronn/Neckar, Allee 40.

AZ: Badische Abend-Zeitung. Karlsruhe, Waldstr. 28.

Schleswig-Holsteinische Volkszeitung. Kiel, Bergstr. 11.

Rheinische Zeitung. Köln, Breitestr. 70/80.

Lübecker Freie Presse. Lübeck, Dr. Julius-Leber-Str. 48.

AZ: Badisch-Pfälzische Abendzeitung. Mannheim-Seckenheim, Hauptstr. 201.

Die Freiheit. Mainz, Neubrunnenstr. 17.

Südpost. München 34, Schackstr. 2.

Schwäbische Volkszeitung. Augsburg. München 34, Schackstr. 2.

Regensburger Woche. Stadtausgabe der Volkswacht. Regensburg, Rich. Wagner-Str. 4/o.

Fränkische Tagespost. Nürnberg und Franken. Nürnberg, Karl Bröger Str. 9.

Oberfränkische Volkszeitung. Hof/Saale, Marienstr. 75.

AZ: Württembergische Abendzeitung. Stuttgart-N, Friedrichstr. 13.

Nordwestdeutsche Rundschau. Wilhelmshaven, Börsenstr. 16.

Sozialdemokratischer Pressedienst (daily). Hannover, Georgstr. 33.

Periodicals

Das Sozialistische Jahrhundert (semi-monthly). Berlin W. 35, Zietenstr. 18.

Geist und Tat: Monatsschrift für Recht. Freiheit und Kultur. Hamburg 1, Speersort 1.

Illustrierte (weekly). Berlin-Grunewald, Bismarckplatz.

Sport-Rundschau. Die Monatszeitschrift für deutsche Körperkultur. Frankfurt a/M., W.-Leuschner-Str. 69/77.

Stimme der Arbeit. Gewerkschaftszeitung für Hessen. Frankfurt a/M., W.-Leuschner-Str. 69/77.

Der kaufmännische Angestellte. Hamburg 36, Holstenwall 3/5.

Der Bank-und Sparkassen-Angestellte. Hamburg 36, Holstenwall 3/5.

Der Versicherungsangestellte. Hamburg 36, Holstenwall 3/5.

Der Reisende. Hamburg 36, Holstenwall 3/5.

Der Angestellte im öffentlichen Dienst. Hamburg 36, Holstenwall 3/5.

Der Techniker. Hamburg 36, Holstenwall 3/5.

Der Werkmeister. Hamburg 36, Holstenwall 3/5.

Schiffahrt. DAG-Zeitschrift der Berufsgruppe Schiffahrt. Hamburg 36, Holstenwall 3/5.

Frauenstimme der DAG. Hamburg 36, Holstenwall 3/5.

Energie und Technik. Hamburg 36, Holstenwall 3/5.

DAG - Jugendpost. Zeitschrift der deutschen Angestellten-Jugend. Hamburg 36, Holstenwall 3/5.

DAG-Nachrichten. Wirtschafts-und Sozialpolitik, Arbeitsrecht, Informationen für Vertrauensleute der Deutschen Angestellten-Gewerkschaft. Hamburg 36, Holstenwall 3/5.

Vermessungstechnische Rundschau. Zeitschrift für das Vermessungswesen. Hamburg 36, Holstenwall 3/5.

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Pennäler-Echo. Schüler-Monatsschrift. Hannover, Georgstr. 33.

Aufwärts. Jugendzeitschrift des Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes. Köln, Breitestr. 70.

Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte. Zeitschrift für soziale Theorie und Praxis. Köln, Breitestr. 70.

Welt der Arbeit. Wochenzeitung des Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes. Köln, Breitestr. 70.

Die Gefährten. Monatsschrift für Erkenntnis und Tat. Lauf bei Nürnberg, Espanstr. 1/3.

Adebar. Jugend-Zeitschrift für Schleswig-Holstein. Lübeck, Dr. Julius-Leber-Str. 48.

Die Muschel. Literarische Zeitschrift (fortnightly). Lübeck, Dr. Julius-Leber-Str. 48.

Die Demokratische Gemeinde. (Monatsschrift für Kommunalpolitik in Stadt und Land). Neuer Vorwärts-Verlag, Hannover, Odeonstr. 15/16.

Gleichheit. Das Blatt der arbeitenden Frau (monthly). Neuer Vorwärts-Verlag, Hannover, Odeonstr. 15/16.

Illustrierter Volkskalender (annual). Neuer Vorwärts-Verlag, Hannover, Odeonstr. 15/16.

Official Party Publications

Sopade--Querschnitt durch Politik und Wirtschaft.
Sozialdemokratische Parteikorrespondenz (monthly).
Hannover, Odeonstr. 15/16.

Sopade Informationsdienst. Sonderdienst (irregular).
Hannover, Odeonstr. 15/16.

Sopade Informationsdienst. Denkschriften (irregular).
Hannover, Odeonstr. 15/16.

Sozialistische Rundschau. Bielefeld, Arndtstr. 6.

Der Jungsozialist. Mitteilungsblatt der Jungsozialistischen Arbeitsgemeinschaften. Bochum, Burgstr. 15.

Der neue Weg. Mitteilungsblatt der SPD. Bezirk Westliches Westfalen. Dortmund, Westenhellweg 51.

Das freie Wort. Mitteilungsblatt der SPD am Niederrhein. Duesseldorf, Königsallee 27.

Kommunalpolitische Rundschau der SPD. Bezirk Hessen-Süd. Frankfurt a/M., Bockenheimer Anlage 3.

Der Sozialist. Mitteilungsblatt der SPD Landesorganisation Hamburg. Hamburg 36, Gr. Theaterstr. 44.

Arbeit und Freiheit. Informationsblatt der Betriebsgruppen der SPD. Hannover, Odeonstr. 15/16.

Hessischer Sonntag. SPD Informationen, Ausgabe Hessen-Nord. Kassel, Humboldtstr. 8 1/2.

Der junge Sozialdemokrat. Informations- und Schulungsblatt der Jungsozialisten der Bezirke Rheinland, Hessen-Nassau, Rheinhessen. Koblenz, Florinsmarkt 2a.

Jungsozialisten-Brief. Mitteilungsblatt für junge Sozialdemokraten. Neustadt a.d.H., Hohenzollernstr. 16.

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Nachrichtenblatt für die bayrischen Gemeinderäte, Stadträte und Kreistagsmitglieder (semi-monthly). München 34, Schackstr. 2.

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Der SPD Redner--Informationen und Unterlagen. Vorstand SPD. Hannover, Odeonstr. 15/16.

Merkblätter für Frauengruppen (irregular). Vorstand der SPD. Hannover, Odeonstr. 15/16.

Informations-Rundbrief. Zentralsekretariat der Jungsozialisten (fortnightly). Hannover, Odeonstr. 15/16.

Schulungsbrief. Zentralsekretariat der Jungsozialisten (monthly). Hannover, Odeonstr. 15/16.

News from Germany. Published by the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Price: DM 10 per year. Obtainable from Hannover, Odeonstr. 15/16; F. Segall, 182 Goldhurst Terrace, London NW 6; and Gerhard G. Gerechter, 1449 Boston Road, Apt. 42, New York 60, N.Y., U.S.A.

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Weckruf. Mitteilungsblatt für die Betriebsgruppen der SPD, Landesorganisation Hamburg. Hamburg 36, Gr. Theaterstr. 44.

Der SPD Funktionär. Informationsblatt der SPD Bremen. SPD Kreisverein, Bremen. Sekretariat: An der Weide 4/5.

SPD Rundschau. Mitteilungsblatt der SPD Bezirk Hannover. SPD Bezirk Hannover, Odeonstr. 15/16.

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Der Neue Weg. Mitteilungsblatt der SPD Bezirk westl. Westfalen (monthly). SPD Bezirk westl. Westfalen, Dortmund, Westenhellweg 51.

Der Jungsozialist. Mitteilungsblatt der Jungsozialistischen Arbeitsgemeinschaften (monthly). Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Jungsozialisten, Dortmund, Westenhellweg 51.

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Für unsere Frauen. Mitteilungen der SPD, Bezirk westl. Westfalen (monthly). Dortmund, Westenhellweg 51.

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Spandauer Echo. Mitteilungsblatt der SPD, Kreis 8. Herausgeber: Kreisvorstand Spandau. Berlin-Spandau, Neuendorferstr. 101.

SPD in Steglitz. Mitteilungsblatt des 12. Kreises.
Kreisvorstand der SPD Steglitz. Berlin-Lichter-
felde-West, Dürerstr. 18.

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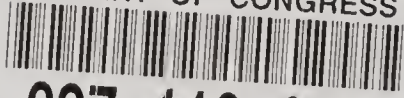
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